THE GUARDIAN'S ANNUAL HOLIDAY BAZAAR HAS BARGAINS . . . See Page 12

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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"We must think about the living . . ."
This woman, at a New York rally protesting the Till lynching, is a symbol of a people aroused as never before. See below.

LAWYERS GUILD ACTION

Brownell's blacklist gets a stiff test

By Lawrence Emery

A DOCTOR who refused to examine a patient unless the patient submitted to treatment guaranteed to kill him would be led away and kept in careful restraint.

The Natl. Lawyers Guild on Oct. 28 applied to the Supreme Court for a similar restraint upon Atty Gen. Brownell whose rules for blacklisting an organization ensure the organization's destruction before the merits of its case can be considered.

For two years the Guild has fought through the courts against his arbitrary decision to place its name on his list of "subversive" organizations. Its appeal now is from a decision by the District of Columbia Circuit Court of Appeals that the Guild must "exhaust its administrative remedies"—remedies devised by Brownell and fatal when applied.

Rogerson in Newsday, Garden City
"THE SEA AROUND US"

THE 1953 RULING: The Supreme Court, with its customary reluctance to rule on a Constitutional issue, decided the only case involving the Attorney General's list to come before it on the narrowest of technical grounds. It ruled in 1953, in the case of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, that to list an organization without notice or hearing of any kind was a denial of due process of law. To meet this objection, Brownell on April 29, 1953, issued regulations providing for "notice and hearing." The Lawyers Guild took one look at the new rules and said:

"These procedures provide for no hearing in any real sense of the word."

Under Brownell's new ground rules, an organization slated for his blacklist is not only notified, but given an "interrogatory" to fill out. It contains such loaded questions as:

"Has (a named member of the organization) at any time been a member of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. or Communist Political Assn.? If so, state the inclusive dates of his membership in the CPUSA or CPA, specifying any official position held

(Continued on Page 5)

THE TILL MURDER AFTERMATH

New acts of terror in the South despite shocked world's protest

By Eugene Gordon

SENIOR BISHOP W. J. Walls, of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, in a letter to the Baltimore **Afro-American** (10/22), said the lynching of Emmett Louis Till had "become a symbol for the whole fight for freedom in the South and in America at large." Two months after the 14-year-old Chicago boy was kidnaped and murdered in Mississippi, expressions of horror and condemnation still resound throughout the world.

Bishop Walls, himself a symbol of the Negro people's growing intolerance of racism, said that Emmett Till went to Mississippi as "God's 'Exhibit A' for a non-segregated school system" in an area where some men will kill to preserve jimcrow. He said:

"His very presence, embodying culture with freedom, excited hatred of the enemies of desegregation. He was sought after for a chance to pick a flaw of conduct that [might] enable them to seize him. In destroying him, the attempt was made to destroy desegregation in Mississippi by holding up the bloody flag of awe to strike terror into the hearts of the advocates of school freedom."

Instead of terror, Bishop Walls wrote, the racists inspired anger and resistance.

PROTESTS FLOOD IN: Muriel L. Symington, a frequent writer to the GUARDIAN, said in the same **Afro-American** letter column that "the specious concern of southern 'gallantry' for the 'purity of white womanhood' is an insult." She added:

"Even in deepest grief, the magnanimity of [Emmett's mother's] refusal to condemn all white people shames every one of us. Nothing can restore her son, but we can help as-

(Continued on Page 4)

WAR & PEACE — FRUITS OF AN "INCOHERENT" POLICY

Geneva shows Western bloc dissension

By Tabitha Petran

THE WESTERN POWERS entered the Geneva foreign ministers conference resolutely maintaining a bold front. Their propaganda specialists, confident that the situation "offers the West a perfect opportunity for propaganda, [were] spreading the word throughout Europe" that the U. S. S. R. is blocking a settlement, hence endangering the peace (N. Y. **Times** 10/29). Their statesmen presented at Geneva the long familiar "all or nothing" united-Germany-in-NATO proposition but with more "security" trimmings than usual.

Behind this surface optimism, however, there was what Marquis Childs (N. Y. **Post**, 10/28) called "growing concern over the worsening position of the West in this new era of the big smile." The concern found expression at both official and unofficial levels. Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Radford confessed to a Washington conference that we "have many times been incoherent" while the "Communists have made amazing gains, largely because they know what they believe, why they believe it, and can explain it." Few U. S. officials, commented James Reston (**NYT**, 10/26) would disagree with Radford's conclusion that the U. S. "is no longer able to articulate its convictions beyond the seas." The Wall St. **Journal** (10/24) saw "no occasion for particular concern" if Geneva would merely continue the existing situation, but feared it would not. The practical question after Geneva may be, it said,

". . . how to prevent the erosion of the western defense establishment; how to keep Germany from slipping away; how, if possible, to restore the European will to resist. . . ."

DISSENSION IN THE OPEN: There was no evidence of understanding, however, of Washington's failure or any awareness of a need for new approaches. To the new widely-acknowledged bankruptcy of its policies, Washington's only answer was more of the same, and hence a still further limiting of its already almost non-existent field of maneuver.

"Internal dissension" within the western alliance over Washington's demand for a united Germany in NATO was, for almost the first time, openly

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THE MAIL BAG

Calif. "Till" case

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Move over, Mississippi, move over and share your infamy with California. We too know how to murder a little colored boy but ours—MacArthur Malone—was only 12 years old, one of a family of 10 children. He was a newspaper carrier and committed the heinous crime of being late for work. In a rage, the white district manager, James R. Hall, of Hearst's Examiner, shot the boy, killing him instantly.

Hall was sentenced to five months in jail. Will the Mississippi case and this one be beamed over the Voice of America? **W. P. C.**

Fruits of New Castle

PROVINCETOWN, MASS.

The joint government and military intervention in the UAW strike in New Castle, Ind., is a planned fascist attack on the right of labor unions to strike. It is not the first or the last, but it is exceptionally vicious and cowardly, with two obvious objectives: (1) to signal a wave of similar frame-up strike suppressions throughout the U.S.; (2) to frighten unions into submission with the spectre of military intervention.

Managers and scabs need only resort to firearms or other violence, then conspire with the state government to deem the situation a danger to life and property, call the National Guard, declare martial law and break the strike as they see fit. This police state tactic is part of the current movement to squelch the Geneva spirit in a flood of bitter, reactionary maneuvers and to literally whip the American people back into the cold war policies of hate-Russia, distrust all other countries and the continuance of the arms race "prosperity."

To prevent this from happening and to expand the American peace movement still further are two of the most urgent tasks facing American progressives today. **John Ross**

Reply to L. A.

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I would like to agree with L. A. of Levittown, N. Y. (Oct. 17), about the Robert E. Lane "How Crazy" statement, but for exactly opposite reasons than seem to be suggested by L. A., and which are also the basis for Lane's view.

It seems to me that not only is "an unsatisfactory private life . . . a necessary basis for intense political interests" but is the basis, in our time, of a warm, human being with a deep and mature interest in the welfare of other peoples and of our own country, still threatened (though less, because of political partisanship) by McCarthy and atomania. In other words, something more than a vegetable or a pudding.

Smugness and complacency are often natural, obvious results of "a completely satisfactory private life" but as sure as thought is a large part of our private life, no thinking person can fail to feel "political partisanship" as "an expression of unhappiness." That is, unless he is capable of practising ostrich imitation.

It is my belief that no person who is mature, or moving in the direction of maturity, can fail to be at least somewhat neurotic if he has not completely succumbed to the too prevalent cynicism, and still has normal, human feelings of relationship to mankind.

Let me amend that last. I would except those rare spirits who are able to balance their unhappiness concerning the state of millions of fellow men and the still possible fate of all of us, with the deep satisfaction of doing worthwhile, organized work, with like-minded people, for movement toward a better world. It is due to these people in the vanguard, and probably to a little degree, to us neurotics, that the world is beginning again to move in the direction of peace and brotherhood. **Saul Gross**

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

TOKYO, Oct. 15 (Reuters)—Communists are reported to have introduced songs like the "Internationale" and "The Red Flag" into Japanese community singing.

Singing groups recently have become popular in Japan. Some leaders of these groups are reported to have had past Communist connections.

Police say they are unable to do anything because no "force" has been used by the Communists in introducing their songs.

—Los Angeles Times, Oct. 15.

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week. S. N. J., No. Hollywood, Calif.

Dissatisfaction

CHICAGO, ILL.

L. A. is psychologically and politically confused in his letter insisting that "unhappiness" is the motivation for intense political struggle. His confusion is the absurd one of substituting "unhappiness" for DISSATISFACTION. The latter is indeed a prime motivation for intense political struggle—and not to be dissatisfied with our predatory economic system, or not to be spurred by one's dissatisfaction into intense anti-capitalist struggle, would be to be lacking in complete rationality, to be mentally repressing and mentally self-inhibiting.

If some persons are unhappy as well as dissatisfied, that is adventitious to the essential motivation, its effect may be either reinforcing or demoralizing. As far as possible, unhappiness should be resolved and reduced through the gratifications of struggle against its sources, but it is irrelevant to DISSATISFACTION as the intrinsic and unexceptionally realistic motivation for intense anti-capitalist political struggle. (Psychoanalysts also: please note.) **W. R.**

Bismarck's prophecy

VITA, CALIF.

Bismarck of Germany said: "The death of Lincoln was a disaster for Christendom. . . . I fear that foreign bankers with their craftiness and tortuous tricks will entirely control the exuberant riches of America and use it to systematically corrupt modern civilization. They will not hesitate to plunge the whole of Christendom into wars and chaos in order that the earth should become their inheritance."

No prediction ever given has proven to be more true than that, up to a certain point. The associates of the bankers—the Pentagon and the Vatican hierarchy, make up a trinity of outlaws who never can run the universe, therefore, they are certain to meet an ignominious defeat in a future that is within our reach. **Everett H. Lea**

Evolution

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

Back when the earth emerged from cosmic dust
Dark, gassy clouds covered the shifting crust.
The whirling globe revolved around the sun;
No one cared because there wasn't anyone!
The sea formed and it filled with struggling life.
Life crawled past the shore to resume its strife.
The mammals evolved and some became men.
The men made H-bombs so wars they could win.
The bombs blew up and raised a lot of dust.
Once more dark clouds covered the shifting crust.
The whirling globe revolved around the sun;
No one cared because there wasn't anyone!

James Erickson

Anniversary present

DETROIT, MICH.

The good folk of Detroit again prove their "salt." Enclosed please find check for $150, net proceeds from Pete Seeger's children's concert and "Informal Evening of Song." Everyone had a good time and are pleased to help out the GUARDIAN at anniversary time. **Sid Rosen**

Bouquet

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Enclosed please find check for renewal to your (I should say our) wonderful paper. Here in Philadelphia the only way we can get the truth in the news is through you, so "Long Live the GUARDIAN." May Cedric Belfrage very soon again be editor in the U.S.A. instead of E. in E. **I. Hofferman**

Interlandi in Des Moines Register

"Okay, so people bore you. But you can't deny we're living in an exciting age . . atomic energy, earth launched satellites . . . the $64,000 question!"

For Sandra Dyer

NEW YORK, N. Y.

GUARDIAN readers are a family in so unique a sense that it seems fitting to announce here in its Mailbag the death of a member of that family, Sandra Dyer, on Oct. 20, at the Hospital for Joint Diseases in New York.

A supporter of the GUARDIAN from its first issue, Sandra worked actively for the ALP. She participated in the East Side Tenant Council and was for many years a member of UOPWA, being at one time president of her local in San Francisco, where she had been employed for a decade by various trade unions.

A few of her closest friends who were with her in her last brief illness feel that the untimely end of so useful and purposeful a life should be marked by more than a mere announcement. We therefore invite all her friends in New York to gather with us in remembering Sandra with love in the Lounge at Club Cinema (430 Sixth Av., nr. 9th St.) on Thursday, Nov. 10, at 8:30 p.m. **Mary Jane Keeney**

Hard thinking

CINCINNATI, O.

I am a reader of your paper. It brings out the facts that some of our colored papers do not bring out. The lynching of that preacher and the murder of the Till boy has made my people think more than ever in the history since we were brought here from Africa.

There are some good whites here in America, but they are few. . . .

(Rev.) James H. McCreary

New outlook

NEW YORK, N. Y.

A candid statesman is an amazing and refreshing thing. Has anyone ever seen, from West or East, a statement comparable to the following, by Khrushchev, in the negotiations with East Germany at Moscow, Sept. 17?

"True, the fact that our Soviet forces remain for the time being on your territory can cause some grief, but we are convinced that the need for this measure will be correctly understood. We clearly realize that the stationing of foreign troops, even troops of a friendly power, does not always arouse the enthusiasm of the population. Nevertheless, people can and must understand the need for this in the existing situation. Our joint decision on the Soviet troops remaining on your territory is a temporary measure. We realize that this is an unpleasant thing, and therefore if anyone said here that this was a pleasant decision, we would not believe him. Do you agree?" (Walter Ulbricht: "We agree.")

As to the outlook on this matter, Khrushchev stated: ". . . We shall persistently work for . . . the withdrawal of the Soviet, American, British and French troops from Germany. If the United States, Britain and France were willing to do this today, we could settle this question immediately. We are willing to withdraw our troops from Germany, but on the condition that our partners in the war against Hitler Germany withdraw their troops."

To those who wonder what the Soviet Union can offer the Germans (and the rest of us) at Geneva, in view of its refusal to permit German reunification based on alliance with the West, the foregoing may give some idea. **William Mandel**

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THE SPECTATOR REPORTS TO READERS

On Thoreau, conformity and the Left today

FOR SEVEN YEARS we of the GUARDIAN have reported the peoples of half a world celebrating great victories, but at home we have had slim pickings. We have chronicled the courage of individuals and individual organizations—here and there a triumph against monumental odds—but for the most part a retreat and a tightening frustration.

It may be that we of the Left are frustrated because we have been forced to play on the grounds of the enemy, to accept premises in which we do not believe, to argue with tyranny according to the rules of tyrants.

We have seen brave men championing the cause of liberty—but in the language of their lawyers. Our lawyers have been brilliant but still lawyers, debating in a field where it is assumed that what is legal is always right.

We have limited our politics, too, to ground rules we never made. We have not always acted politically, but rather played politics, concentrating our efforts on elections, conventions, the trappings of politics which most Americans for a century have known to be false reflections of American life. While the ordinary man knows from his cradle that the political circus is a fraud, we have too often assumed a naivete strange in radicals, and talked as if the narrow arena of the political game was the only arena in which to fight for truth and freedom.

IN A PASSION FOR CONFORMITY with what it conceives to be the American way, the Left in our country does reverence to the two-party system and has come to look with hopelessness on the status of a minority party.

Those on the Left who have taken this hopeless course are perhaps the best and bravest radicals, and, as such, they have grown lonely. That is understandable, but in their predicament —which is our predicament as well—we might well exhume that nature-loving, freedom-loving revolutionary Henry David Thoreau from his shrine, and listen to him:

"A minority is powerless while it conforms to the majority; it is not even a minority then; but it is irresistible when it clogs by its whole weight."

Thoreau's essay on Civil Disobedience appeared in 1849, a time not unlike our own. The government had launched a monstrous invasion of Mexico—as we lately engaged in an intervention in Korea. (In any case our foreign policy is only a disguised intervention in many parts of the world.) At home the nation was maintaining slavery and imprisoning or hanging those who too openly fought the slave-holders—as now our nation maintains a disguised slavery in the form of jimcrow and imprisons, sometimes executes, dissenters.

THOSE WHO DESPAIR of minorities might recall that the minority of abolitionists whom Thoreau defended rallied a sizeable majority against slavery only a dozen years later. Thoreau could not forecast when freedom's bandwagon would roll but knew he could not wait. He examined the relationship of a citizen to his government and to his conscience, asking:

"Must the citizen ever for a moment, or in the least degree, resign his conscience to the legislator? . . . Law never made men a whit more just; and by means of their respect for

(Continued on Page 10)

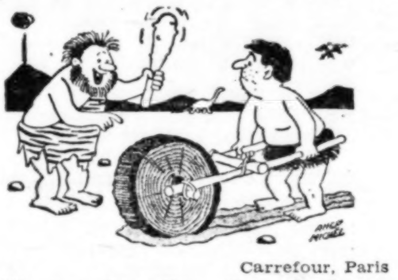
ASIA SIX MONTHS AFTER BANDUNG—II

The slogan: aid and trade without strings

By Kumar Goshal
(Second of two articles)

IN ITS ECONOMIC POLICY towards Asia and Africa, Washington ignores the almost irresistible desire of Asians and Africans for a better standard of living as well as political freedom. Asians and Africans want control both of their resources and the ballot box.

Washington, however, continues to spend fortunes on military bases and maintenance of its own and its allies' troops, as well as keeping in power discredited and unpopular governments. The U. S. has allotted for use in Asia in the year ending June 30, 1956, $812,200,000 for "defense support" and only $51 million for "development assistance." It opposes the growing desire of Asians and Africans for some control of their means of production,



Carrefour, Paris
"With your invention, the wheel, our army can wipe out the world."

and seeks to prevent increased economic co-operation between non-socialist Asians and Africans and the socialist countries.

CHEERS ON CHIANG: For example, Washington continues at enormous expense to support Chiang Kai-shek, encouraging him to declare last month that conditions are "fast ripening" for an attack on mainland China. Columnist Drew Pearson reported (10/7) that the Joint Chiefs of Staff "intend to meet . . . with atomic weapons" Far Eastern troubles they are "definitely expecting." He said that 10,000 American troops are now stationed on Formosa, mostly Air Force personnel.

BACKS UP DIEM: In S. Vietnam, the U. S. stands behind Premier Diem, although two of his former followers—"supported by 60 other prominent politicians" who refused to give their names for fear of arrest—have called for an end to Diem's "one-man rule" (**Reuters,** 10/18). Two weeks ago Diem held a plebiscite for the people to choose between him and the absentee nominal ruler Prince Bao Dai. Facing such an alternative, the voters were obliged to choose Diem; but the fact that half the eligible voters stayed away from the polls indicated their lack of interest in such a restricted choice. With U. S. support, Diem refuses to consult the N. Vietnamese government about joint North-South elections in July, 1956, called for by the Geneva accord of 1954.

BLAME IT ON KOREANS: Washington's continued stationing of American troops in support of S. Korea's Syngman Rhee government has resulted in lowering of the troops' morale and increased discrimination against the Koreans. The N. Y. **Times** reported (10/12) that American soldiers were inflicting "indignities" on Koreans and calling them "Gooks," accusing Korean employes of stealing Post Exchange goods for black market sale. Although many U. S. Army officers and soldiers have been arrested and convicted "for theft and fund misappropriation," the Army command felt that "most of the blame should be pinned on the Koreans."

INDIA DOESN'T SCARE: U. S. attempts to scare Asians and Africans from trading with socialist countries by warning them of the dangers of having "Communist technicians" on their soil seem to have failed. Nor has Washington succeeded in preventing its own allies from engaging in such trade.

The Soviet Union is building a steel plant in India, and is reported to be setting up a technical institute in Bombay. India-China and India-U. S. S. R. trade, based on the last six month's report, promises to be double that of last year's volume. From the U. S. S. R., India is getting newsprint, dyeing and tanning materials, machinery and steel; from China, raw silks, drugs, newsprint, some iron and steel. The Soviet Union is getting black pepper, hides, skins and lac, an ingredient of lacquer. China is getting Indian cotton.

BURMA LIKEWISE: During his recent visit to Moscow, Burma's Premier U Nu thanked the Soviet Union for helping his country by buying surplus Burmese rice when the U. S. flooded Burma's normal Asian rice market with American surplus. Rebuffed by Washington last summer, U Nu told Soviet officials of Burma's need for "factories, machines and technicians," made arrangements for Soviet machinery, equipment and technicians "commensurate with purchases made from [Burma] by the Soviet Union." U Nu announced in Moscow (10/22) that Soviet architects were designing for Burma several major public buildings, including a large concert hall and a 100,000-seat stadium for international meetings in Rangoon.

AFGHANISTAN TOO: The Afghan government has secured credit from Moscow for sharply increased import of Soviet equipment and material, in addition to roads now being built and the projected building of two grain elevators, a mill, a factory and an oil pipeline by Soviet engineers and builders in Afghanistan. The U. S., which maintains a large staff in this strategically located territory on the Soviet border, has responded by declaring that "wider [U. S.] economic aid might be granted" to Afghanistan if the Afghan government asked for it "as a substitute for the economic aid from the Soviet government" (N. Y. **Times**, 10/25).

CEYLON AND JAPAN: Ceylon, though in the U. S. orbit, has made a new deal with China for selling rubber in exchange for Chinese rice. Japan's trade with China has increased more than three-fold over last year's; Japanese businessmen were reported becoming "more enthusiastic" over trade with China (**Christian Science Monitor,** 10/26). Japanese industrialists last month made barter arrangements totaling $7,000,000 each way with E. Germany, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria (**Reuters,** 10/11). France, reconciled to the loss of Indo-China, last month quietly signed a one-year trade agreement with N. Vietnam, calling for commercial exchanges of one billion francs on each side.

THE CONFLICT: James Reston reported (**NYT,** 10/26) that Washington was "taking a hard look at the conflict between our anti-colonial tradition and our alliance with the colonial powers." But the government is still following the policy outlined by Asst. Secy. of State Henry A. Byroade two years ago. Byroade said:

> "We must recognize that the disintegration of the old colonialism is inevitable. We believe that much blood and treasure may be saved if the Western world determines firmly to hasten rather than hamper the orderly development of self-determination. However, it is a hard, inescapable fact that premature independence can be dangerous, retrogressive, and destructive."

OPPOSES UN ACTION: At the UN, the U. S. has not only consistently looked upon every peaceful discussion of colonial freedom as "premature," but has opposed even any broad generalization supporting colonial freedom. During the current discussion on a Human Rights Covenant prepared under an explicit UN General Assembly directive of five years ago, the U. S. and its colony-owning allies have been bitterly opposing Article I, calling for "the right of all peoples to self-determination." It has also been fighting the inclusion of the right of all peoples to "permanent sovereignty over their natural wealth and resources [despite] any rights that may be claimed by other states." Unable to turn the Human Rights Covenant into an inocuous document, the U. S.—as the N. Y. **Times** pointed out (10/28)—now "wanted no part of the Covenant which it had been among the first to sponsor."

FACTS OF LIFE: Washington refuses to accept the fact that Asians and Africans desire full economic and political freedom, and rapid progress in modernizing their economy on a planned basis. Whether they believe in socialism or not, as Walter Lippmann wrote (8/16),

U. S. SEEKS TO BAR U.N. RIGHTS CLAUSE

Section of Covenant Said to Imperil Investments in Foreign Countries

By WAYNE PHILLIPS
Special to The New York Times.

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., Oct. 27—**The United States has begun a drive to scuttle a section of the proposed Covenant of Human Rights that poses a threat to its business interests abroad.**

N. Y. Times, Oct. 28, 1955

the Soviet Union to them "is the living example . . . of how a backward country can be industrialized rapidly." They have since observed China's rapid pace of industrialization. A UN economic commission reported last month that China's over-all output of industrial goods rose by 17% in 1954, "a considerably faster rate of growth than most of the large countries that year," indicating that China was "riding a major industrial boom." At a Tokyo trade fair China is exhibiting not only light industry products but lathes, generators and power spindles (**CSM,** 10/26).

India, Burma, Indonesia and other countries have accepted the principle of planned economic development, and they have found in the socialist countries a willingness for economic co-operation on their own terms. Through such co-operation, the socialist countries are putting into practice their theory of competitive co-existence with the capitalist countries of the world. Only by accepting these facts of life can the U. S. make its own potentially great contribution to peaceful co-existence.

Give a Guardian gift sub today. $1 for 26 weeks. Blank on p. 6.

Joy bombs

TWO RECENT **AP** items in the N. Y. **Times** reported:

- A U. S. manufacturer has agreed to stop shipping toy aircraft bearing swastika markings to W. Germany. The State Dept. investigated after a Socialist deputy in the W. German parliament complained.
- Bonn has cracked down on the sale of comic books that are not comic. The Justice Ministry said that book stores would be held responsible for the sale of comic books portraying "primitive or barbarous acts."

Last week a reader sent in this item culled from a Christmas gift catalogue:

> "When Santa made these up, he was in a generous mood indeed—for they're the biggest dollar's worth we've even seen. The huge 24" red net stockings are joy-packed with toys! Boy's stockings has an H-Bomb and target. . . ."

Shouldn't we try a little denazification on ourselves?

IT'S UNANIMOUS NOW

Morocco for Moroccans?

WALTER KERR'S REPORT (N. Y. **Herald Tribune,** 10/27) on Washington's reaction to the latest Moroccan news sheds an odd light on U. S. colonial policy. In Morocco last week, the staunchly pro-French Berber chief el Glaoui joined religious leaders and the Istiqlal (Independence) party in demanding freedom for Morocco and reinstatement of the exiled pro-nationalist ruler ben Youssef. This seemed to make the demand for freedom unanimous among the Moroccans.

Kerr said Washington was "shocked" by the prospect of "an end to any program based on a [Berber-Arab] conflict," leaving the French "without a strong native arm to lean upon." He found American officials considering it "as an ominous development of the utmost significance" that el Glaoui "no longer believed he could survive on the old basis." However, Kerr said that, "with much cause for anxiety and little reason to hope," Washington was inclined to suggest that perhaps el Glaoui's defection might not be altogether to the liking of the Istiqlal party.

Following el Glaoui, his protege ben Arafa—whom the French had placed on the throne after exiling ben Youssef—officially renounced all rights to the throne. "The unanimous and unchecked demand by all elements of the Moroccan population for the restoration of [ben Youssef]" (N. Y. **Times,** 10/31) seemed to spell the end of France's colonial hold on Morocco.

Effel in Humanite, Paris
"AFTER ALL WE'VE DONE FOR THEM."

DEATH IN EAST TEXAS

Negro boy, 16, slain, 2 girls are wounded by rifle shots fired from car into cafe

Special to the Guardian

LONGVIEW, TEX.

TO THE LETTER from East Texas headlined "Beer Bottles and Bullets" (GUARDIAN, Oct. 3), there can now be added the word "Death."

Just before midnight Oct. 22, Johnny Earl Reece, 16, Negro migratory cotton picker who had just returned home from West Texas, was shot and killed and two young Negro girls, Johnnie Merle Nelson, 15, and her sister Joyce, 13, were wounded by rifle shots fired into a small cafe on Highway 149, 10 miles south of Longview.

A few minutes later, a car stopped in front of the farm home of H. C. Thompson, Negro school bus driver and leader in last spring's victorious school bond election, and fired ten shots into the Thompson jalopy and the school bus, both parked alongside the Thompson home. Thompson, his wife and their six children were inside the house.

THE BULLET HOLES SHOW
This is H. C. Thompson's car

Next stop of the night attackers was a short distance up the road where ten shots were fired into a home adjacent to the Mayflower school (colored), center of the school bond controversy. One bullet barely missed Mrs. Mary Jane Beckworth, who was kneeling by her bed praying before retiring. She too was active in the election campaign. Shots were also fired into the school, knocking out several window panes.

On the same night, two white men in a car pulled alongside a car driven by a Negro, one levelled a rifle at his head and said: "I'm going to blow your God damned head off." They sped on without shooting.

LATEST SPARK: It is believed that all these incidents, as well as the shootings of last spring and again in mid-summer, are the work of the same persons. Recent settlement of litigation clearing the way for start of construction of new school buildings probably sparked these latest attacks.

Peace officers of two counties and state police are working on the case. The Negro community is also trying to get help from Federal sources (several RFD mail boxes were damaged in at least one of the raids). No arrests have been reported to date, although rumors as to suspects are flying thick and fast.

Living as this correspondent does in the midst of this, we fully appreciate the uneasiness which prevails among the residents of this beautiful piney woods section of east Texas where, to quote Don West, "The shacks of workers are the only ugliness you'll see."

If the killers remain free, where and when will they strike next?

BLOW AT U. S. WITCH-HUNT

UN tribunal orders reinstatement of 4 fired by UNESCO for balking inquiry

ON OCT. 29, the UN's highest administrative tribunal in Geneva once again frustrated Washington's witch-hunt among UN employes. The tribunal ordered UNESCO (UN Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization) either to reinstate or pay indemnities plus court costs (over $30,000) to four employes dismissed for refusing to testify before a U. S. roving loyalty board last year. The four were: Mrs. Kathryn Bernstein, Mrs. Kathryn Pankey, Ruth Froma and Helen Van Gelder.

Last spring the tribunal made a similar decision involving the dismissal of David Leff, Peter Duberg and Mrs. Annette Wilcox. In the new decision, however, the tribunal was even more explicit in rejecting the principle that so-called "disloyalty" to one member government is necessarily inconsistent with the "standards of integrity" required of UN employes. The tribunal declared that the UNESCO director general, Dr. Luther Evans (U. S.), could not dismiss an employe because of the complaints of the employe's own government

> ". . . without misusing the authority which has been conferred on him solely for the purpose of directing that organization toward the achievement of its own, exclusively international objectives."

U. S. STILL FIGHTING: The U. S. delegation carried the fight to the UN's Administrative and Budgetary Committee last week by presenting a resolution that would allow UN members to review the verdicts of the administrative tribunal. Despite the protests of India, the Scandinavian countries and others that such a procedure would inject political factors into strictly legal questions, the resolution was approved, 27 to 18.

The resolution still has to be sanctioned by the UN General Assembly, where it will face stiff opposition from the Indian and other delegations. They are expected to invoke the Assembly regulation requiring a two-thirds majority vote on "important questions."

In Chicago, they spell slaughter a-u-c-t-i-o-n

TO THE six visiting Soviet newsmen, their visit to Wall Street and the New York Stock Exchange must have been something like a tour of the infernal regions, personally conducted by the old Hornie himself. They have been reared on the belief that these were the instruments with which fat capitalists exploit the workers.

What they learned was that the exchange is nothing more nor less than an auction house, wherein those who own shares in American industry and those who wish to buy may meet and bargain. Obviously the ability to liquidate such holdings promptly enormously facilitates the task of raising capital for productive enterprises.

—Chicago **Daily News**, Oct. 24.

GBS means Guardian Buying Service

Mississippi story

(Continued from Page 1)

suage her anguish if massive protests and unremitting action can assure not only justice in this case but the end of such crimes."

Telegrams and letters to President Eisenhower and resolutions to members of Congress and the Justice Dept. flowed from NAACP-sponsored and other meetings of protest in Chicago, New York, Detroit, San Francisco and Baltimore. Two Washington mass meetings sent resolutions. Reps. Charles C. Diggs (D-Mich.) and Adam C. Powell (D-N. Y.) pledged efforts to cut Mississippi's representation in Congress because Negroes—approximately half the voting-age population—are disfranchised. Powell said 14 Congressmen—including Rep. James Roosevelt (D-Cal.) and Hugh J. Addonisio (D-N. J.)—would support the move.

VATICAN COMMENTS: Vatican City's **Osservatore Romano,** commending Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel for closing a Louisiana mission because white parishioners prevented an authorized Negro priest from saying mass, referred to the "unpunished" murderers of young Till in an editorial which said that in the U. S.

> ". . . the fight against such inhuman and barbarous prejudice must be supported by all those citizens who want to remove this 'color smudge' from the world fame of the fine and generous civilization of that great nation."

A survey in six European and N. African countries by the American Jewish Committee's Paris office disclosed these typical press comments:

Radar (France): "In Europe [the 'wolf whistle'] is an homage which provokes a smile. [In Sumner, Miss.] it was the equivalent of a death sentence."

Le Phare (Belgium): "There is still in certain corners of the great democracy a racist dogma of state, as anti-Semitism was a state dogma under Hitler. . . . Racism like Hitlerism is still spreading its poison. . . ."

Das Freies Volk (Germany): "The life of a colored person in Mississippi is not worth a whistle. This verdict is again a sign of American democracy."

SHARP DOUBTS": The (Negro) Natl. Newspaper Publishers Assn. observed that foreign comments "varied in tone and intensity," some limiting condemnation

> ". . . to the section of the South where the trial took place and others blaming the entire South for its segregation policies and the atmosphere of racial hatred which could produce such a trial. [Other foreign papers] on the basis of the trial and the verdict, raised sharp doubts about the sincerity of the U. S. in proclaiming itself the defender of human rights and of oppressed peoples throughout the world."

Even sharper doubts may be raised as the result of new racist acts since the Till lynching and disclosure of earlier acts. Among them:

- The Rev. Benjamin E. Love, assistant minister of Hopewell Baptist Church, Newark, informed the **Afro** (10/29) that his mother Mrs. Marie Love, 53,

> "whom he last saw in 1951, when the family lived in Glendora, Miss., had told him that his brother was shot to death by [alleged Till murderer] J. W. Milam in 1949 . . . when he quarrelled with Milam over wages due him as a laborer on [a theater building] project."

- The Rev. J. A. Delaine, one of the Negro originators of the Clarendon, S. C., suit to abolish jimcrow public schools, was fired as a teacher, burned out of his church and business and threatened with death. Police protection was denied him; but when he shot back at white men who had fired into his home, he barely escaped ahead of a mob. S. Carolina is now trying to have him extradited from New York and to try him for "assault with intent to kill."
- Near Orlando, Fla., white men fired five shotgun blasts into a CIO United Packinghouse Workers union meeting, wounding 10 Negro citrus-fruit workers. Sheriff Willis V. McCall, notoriously trigger-happy himself, who was on vacation, sent word to his office not to discuss the shooting with anybody. He would "investigate" when he returned.

"SEE JUSTICE DONE": Summing up the feeling of the Negro community, NAACP's special counsel Thurgood Marshall told a Port Chester, N. Y., rally:

> "Now our anger is aroused. But Till is dead. We must think about the living. We must think about the reasons behind these murders. . . . Since President Eisenhower's illness we have learned that the affairs of government are running smoothly, anyway, because there is a well-trained and co-ordinated team to keep things going. But before the President got sick he didn't open his mouth about the state of affairs in Mississippi and neither has the team. . . . Notify your political parties in New York state that you want to see justice done."

Arkansas State Press

"But the Dixiecrats are telling the world a different story."

Blues for Emmett Till

I've got the blues, friend—
don't know how to keep still;
the Mississippi blues, friend,
won't let me keep still.
One name is moaned by every wind:
the name of Emmett Till.

Been hearing a blue story—
that's why I feel blue;
Emmett Till's story
makes me feel so blue,
can't breathe another day, friend,
'less I pass it on to you.

He went down South for the summer;
Chicago's a boiling slum.
Flew down like a bird for the summer,
but he should've stayed in the slum—
the South's no place for a Negro
to buy a stick of gum.

Foolish little bird!
His feathers were all brown . . .
They should've warned that bird,
if you happen to be brown
better not chirp
when Mrs. Bryant's around.

Poor young Emmett Till!
He never will get his wish.
I'm sorry for Emmett Till—
it was such a little wish . . .
He went down to the Tallahatchie,
but he didn't go down to fish.

Seems like in Mississippi
murder's doing all right;
in Money, Mississippi,
to kill a young bird's all right
if the young bird is brown
and the killer's white.

Jury knows who killed him—
knows the place and the time.
Jury knows just who killed him,
that terrible midnight-time.
But his face was crushed so bad,
it couldn't be called a crime.

Next time you pass a courthouse,
look at the marble word.
Slow down when you pass a courthouse
and laugh about that word—
laugh about "Justice," friend,
and cry for a young brown bird. . . .

I've got the blues, friend—
don't know how to keep still;
the Mississippi blues, friend,
won't let me keep still.
One name is roared by every wind,
the name of Emmett Till.

—**Aaron Kramer**

Brownell's blacklist

(Continued from Page 1)

in either of these organizations."

DAMNED IF YOU DON'T: Other questions demand the "names and addresses of all persons who assisted or took part in any way" in the formation of the organization, a report on the organization's financial records, and the names of "the person or persons who have the authority to collect and dispose of all money and negotiable securities." If these and similar questions are not answered or, in the opinion of the Attorney General, "evasively" answered, the organization loses by default and is automatically placed on the blacklist.

In its present petition to the Supreme Court the Guild argues that the "interrogatory" is a gross invasion of its privacy, that many of the questions are impossible of satisfactory answer and are "designed to make answering impossible and thus to lay a foundation for the default designation. . . ." It adds that even complete answering of all the questions "would itself be the incurring of an onerous governmental sanction." The petition says:

> "The procedures of the Attorney General are a caricature of due process. So far from granting a hearing, they compel default. If by the Attorney General's grace a hearing is nevertheless obtained, it is a sham, involving faceless informers, misplacing the burden of proof and utilizing irrational criteria. No organization, least of all a bar association, should be compelled to undergo such a humiliating and unfair procedure, particularly when the power of decision rests with one who has already rendered his public decision. . . . Moreover if [the Guild] cannot obtain relief now, it is likely to be deprived of it altogether. For it may well be destroyed by the administrative process before it can secure review of the administrative order."

"IT HAS BEEN CLEAR. . . ": But even if the Guild were to abide by the Attorney General's rules and submit to a hearing, the result has long been foregone: Brownell two years ago publicly proclaimed his own determination of the Guild's guilt. On Aug. 27, 1953, he told the Jubilee Convention of the American Bar Assn. in Boston:

> "We have been studying evidence that the Natl. Lawyers Guild be included in the list of subversive organizations. Because this organization originally attracted some very well-known and completely loyal American citizens including many Colored members who found it would admit them (at a time when our American Bar Assn. failed to do so), I have conducted the study with great care. I am now prepared to make this determination public.

> "It has been clear that at least since 1946 the leadership of the Guild has been in the hands of card-carrying Communists and prominent fellow travellers. On every major issue since then it has steadfastly followed the Party line and its programs and actions have been consistent with it, excepting only those issues so notorious that their espousal would too clearly demonstrate the Communist control. It has become more and more the legal mouthpiece for the Communist Party and its members, and it has consistently opposed all laws or investigations which have sought to curb or expose Communist activity in the U. S. It is because the evidence shows that the Natl. Lawyers Guild is at present a Communist dominated and controlled organization fully committed to the Communist Party line that I have today served notice to it to show cause why it should not be designated on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations."

BEYOND POO-BAH: Of Brownell's determination of guilt in advance, the Guild said:

> "Here is a government official who files charges which he is to hear as judge announcing his sentence in advance. Pooh-Bah could not have dreamed up a multiplicity of functions more to his liking."

On Brownell's curious reasoning that the issues on which the Guild was at sharp variance with Communist Party policy proved its CP "domination," the Guild commented:

> "Mr. Brownell apparently proceeds on the theory of guilt by dissociation."

This will be the first time that the Supreme Court has been askd to rule on the basic issues involved in the "subversive" list and to consider the government's contention that an organization must actually be listed before it can challenge the listing procedure; that it must answer the Attorney General's questions before it can challenge their propriety; that it must submit to a hearing before it can challenge the bias of the hearing officer. The Guild's petition sums up its position:

> "To give any official of the government such power to blacklist violates First Amendment rights; the standards under which the power is exercised violate due process . . . the listing of an organization is an official branding tantamount to a death sentence. . . . Surely the time has come for this Court to deal with the issue on a comprehensive basis and put an end to one of the worst aspects of the current mania for guilt by association."

"SMACKS OF CENSORSHIP": If the Supreme Court agrees to review the Guild's case, there is some reason to suppose that it will strike down the Brownell blacklist. In 1943 the Court held that under the Constitution

> ". . . no official, high or petty, can proscribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion, or other matters of opinion."

While the Court did not reach the Constitutional issue in the Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee case, Justices Black and Douglas had some sharp things to say. Black wrote:

> "More fundamentally, however, in my judgment the Executive has no Constitutional authority, with or without a hearing, officially to prepare and publish the lists challenged by petitioners. In the first place, the system adopted effectively punishes many organizations and their members merely because of their political beliefs and utterances, and to this extent smacks of a most evil type of censorship. . . .

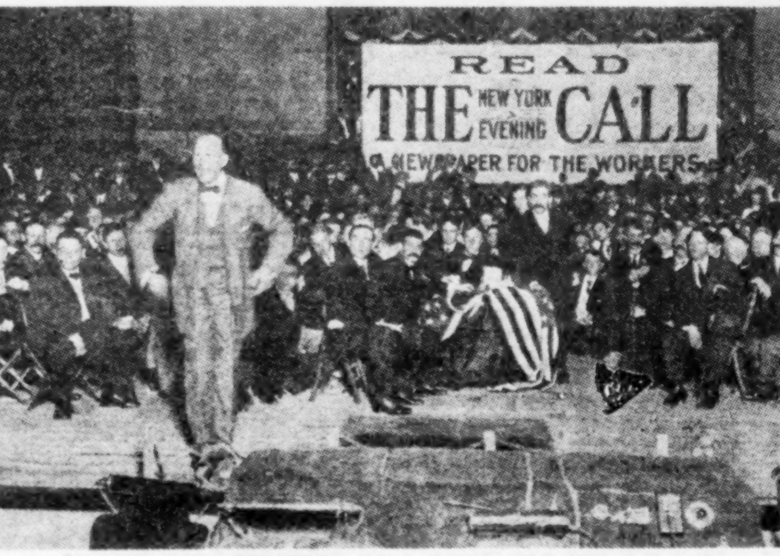
> ". . . I cannot believe that the authors of the Constitution, who outlawed the bill of attainder, inadvertently endowed the executive with power to engage in the same tyrannical practice that had made the bill such an odious institution. . . .

> "In this day when prejudice, hate and fear are constantly invoked to justify irresponsible smears and persecutions of persons even faintly suspected of entertaining unpopular views, it may be futile to suggest that the cause of internal security would be fostered, not hurt, by faithful adherence to our Constitutional guarantees of individual liberty."

Giles in Daily Express, London

"If this peace business gets much worse, you and me are going to be looking for a new job, Sergeant."

Debs Centennial Meeting in N.Y. Nov. 28



EUGENE DEBS SPEAKING AT A RALLY FOR THE N. Y. CALL
He knew the value of a progressive paper for organizing

A MEETING marking the centennial of the birth of Eugene Victor Debs (Nov. 5, 1855), will be held in New York Monday, Nov. 28, at 8 p.m., at the Fraternal Clubhouse, 110 W. 48th St. Contribution will be $1.

Featured speaker will be Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, noted scholar and historian. James Aronson, executive editor of the GUARDIAN, will be chairman. Other speakers will be Clifford T. McAvoy, ALP candidate for Mayor in 1953; Leo Huberman, co-editor, **Monthly Review**; Bert Cochran, editor, **American Socialist**; I. F. Stone, editor, **I. F. Stone's Weekly.** The editors of the four publications formed the initiating committee for the meeting.

A long and impressive list of Americans have joined in sponsoring the meeting. Among them are: Charlotta A. Bass, Elmer Benson, Warren K. Billings, Carl Braden, Angus Cameron, Prof. Arthur K. Davies, Ernest DeMaio, Prof Thomas I. Emerson, Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild, Royal W. France, Waldo Frank, Laurent B. Frantz, Michael Gold, Vincent Hallinan, Rockwell Kent, Dr. Corliss Lamont, Robert Morss Lovett, Charles A. Madison, Ernest Mazey, Rev. William Howard Melish, Dr. Clyde R. Miller, Prof. Philip Morrison, Dr. Otto Nathan, Scott Nearing, Harvey O'Connor, John M. Pickering, Anna Louise Strong, Prof. Dirk J. Struik, Dr. Paul M. Sweezy, Judge Edward P. Totten, Harry F. Ward, Rev. Hugh Weston, Rev. Claude C. Williams, Prof. H. H. Wilson.

SMITH ACT VICTIM IN HOSPITAL

Claudia Jones gets stay of deportation; drive urged to kill new conspiracy trial

CLAUDIA JONES won a stay of deportation on Oct. 20. Miss Jones, who completed a one-year sentence as a Smith Act victim, is suffering from a severe heart condition which became worse during her imprisonment.

Despite her condition, the Justice Dept. was prepared to hold her in detention and fly her to Trinidad Oct. 25. Her attorneys had sought to stay her deportation in order to determine her health. Their petitions were rejected.

The attorneys then sought a temporary restraining order which was signed by a Washington, D. C., Federal District judge Oct. 20. The order set Nov. 2 for a hearing on Miss Jones' health.

Miss Jones arrived in New York City Oct. 24 from the Women's Federal Penitentiary in Alderson, W. Va. She was released in $100 bond pending the Nov. 2 hearing. On her arrival she entered a hospital for treatment.

BROCHURE IS OUT: Attorney General Brownell should call off "the informer-tainted" trial of George Blake Charney and Alexander Trachtenberg, declares a brochure mailed last week to labor, religious and civic leaders throughout the nation. "Why allow informers to lie again?" the illustrated pamphlet asks. It was printed in a run of 100,000 copies by the Charney-Trachtenberg Self Defense Committee, Rm. 810, 1 Park Pl., N. Y. C. 7.

The pamphlet urges an end to the trial of Charney, 50-year-old Bronze Star winner in World War II, and the 71-year-old publisher Trachtenberg. Both were freed from Federal prison last April after star government witness Harvey Matusow revealed that he had given false testimony against them in a 1952 Smith Act trial in New York.

Charney and Trachtenberg are scheduled to come to trial this Fall, along with Marion Bachrach and Sidney Stein. Mrs. Bachrach was severed from the original trial after suffering from cancer, for which she has been operated on twice. Stein is now serving a three-year sentence on a related Smith Act charge.

Let's keep it nameless

WASHINGTON (AP)—The president of the Advertising Council Thursday urged that, as part of the propaganda war with communism, the United States begin describing its economic system as "people's-capitalism."

Theodore S. Repplier said in a talk to the National Conference of Business Paper Editors:

"We have produced a great product which is nameless—a shameful situation which at times has very nearly lost us the propaganda war. We have tried to describe our system by a whole host of phrases, mostly inaccurate or meaningless . . but we have settled on nothing."

—Chicago **Daily News**, Oct. 27.

BELFRAGE PENETRATES THE CURTAIN UNSCATHED

Mr. Dulles: Bulgaria *does* exist—and very bouncy too

By Cedric Belfrage

SOFIA, Bulgaria

MR. S. S. PATEL, an honorable gentleman with four children to feed, clothe and educate in Calcutta, wandered down into the Balkans recently laden with detestation for white sahibs, prideful faith in the destiny of Nehru's India, and samples of tea.

"Coming here has been a turning-point in my life," he said to me last night, sipping a slivovitz (plum brandy) in the Bulgaria bar after a hard day's bargaining at the Trade Ministry.

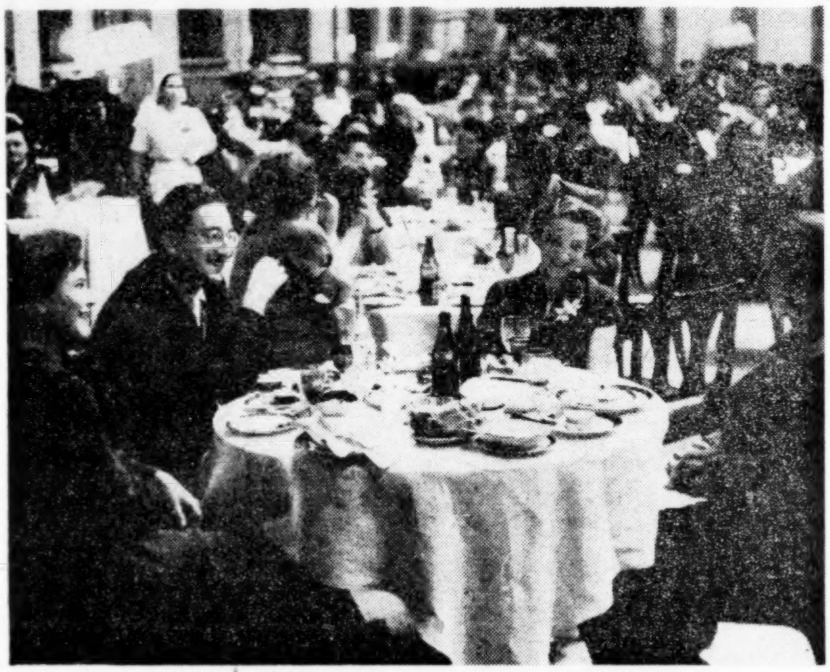
A symbol of the new trade currents which have been changing the world balance of forces while the West muttered about iron curtains, businessman Patel will return to Calcutta with a lush portfolio of deals. He has a constitutional distaste for Communists, but after some initial shocks he concluded that in some ways they are nice to know.

TEA IS NOT ALL: He found that the Bulgars cannot be persuaded to stop preferring coffee; but tea soon faded into the background as they began offering penicillin, fertilizer and fine tobacco, and 8,000 tons of steel from the new Lenin Metal Works—of which this recently primitive peasant nation is so proud—in return for iron and manganese ores, textiles, jute, dollars, sterling or what have you? The Bulgars kept shaking their heads at him. As soon as he realized that when they do that they mean "yes," Mr. Patel knew that tea isn't everything and his turning-point as a businessman had come.

Mr. Patel wove his way back each day from the trade-organization offices through the dense, lively, youthful crowds which surge over Sofia's cobbled streets in the evenings—past the new opera house, the old cathedral, the Georgi Dimitrov mausoleum, the landscaped memorial to the Red Army which helped Bulgaria liberate itself in 1944, and the Natl. Bank Building preposterously decorated (for a film about the occupation) with swastikas.

HOLD THE PRESS! He didn't understand what made these rather poorly-dressed (by European standards) tides of people seem so happy. The suppertime hoop-la in the hotel's huge cafe, jammed with couples dancing to an uninhibited rendition of "The Sheik of Araby," did not brighten his mood. Mr. Patel, whose only European language is English, felt lonely and out of it until the hotel was invaded by a babel of newspapermen with interpreters to match, assembled from a score of countries—Mexico and Vietnam, Canada and China, France and Finland, Italy and the U. S. S. R. and the two Germany's—for the executive committee session of the Intl. Organization of Journalists.

Among these polyglot invaders, finding all sorts of ingenious ways to intercommunicate professionally and personally, was your editor-in-exile as an invited guest. The identifying card, opposite my seat at one of the long tables equipped for earphone translations in five languages, said: "U. S. A." I told the delegates I was a sort of ghost, since any "live" American newspaperman would either have been denied a passport to come or if he got one, fired before he got home. I added that I was sorry not to have seen their famous Iron Curtain (between Germany and Czechoslovakia) as there was a cloud under the plane at the time.



ON THE TOWN AT THE NOVY YAR IN MOSCOW
With the Thaw has come also a sprightlier night life

But they were grateful, I think, for my information about newspapering behind the Cadillac Curtain, a subject on which few are ever able to get first-hand reports.

ANOTHER POINT OF VIEW: The main business was to plan for the big, all-nation (it is hoped) "Journalists' Geneva," to be held next summer in the same city where this summer the Big Four began relaxing tensions on the diplomatic level.

Journalists of the socialist countries are so deeply convinced that their way is the freest and best that, while eager for peaceful co-existence with the capitalist press, many find it hard to accept that capitalist journalists too have a point of view, however mistaken it may be.

In the strange role of explainers—though hardly defenders—of the North American press with which all want to sit down if only to agree to disagree, **Canadian Tribune** editor John Stewart and I reminded them of the much more modest view now being taken by Soviet scientists as to what they can learn from American science. Socialist journalism likewise, we suggested, has much to learn from capitalist journalism especially in the area of technique and presentation.

ONE CLEAN NEWSMAN: Editor Perez Elias of Mexico very properly asked whether Stewart and I

> ". . . thought there was nothing else but the U.S.S.R. and U.S.A.-Canada. . . . Happily there are in the world many countries but for whose existence the U.S. and U.S.S.R. would already have destroyed each other with atom bombs."

He suggested greater efforts to get journalist organizations of India, the Arab countries etc. into the IOJ; if these smaller and more neutral countries were represented at the "Journalists' Geneva," it would not necessarily be a catastrophe if North America continued to sulk.

I was able to speak of the plight of progressive U.S. newspapermen unable to earn a living by their craft, and of others forced into journalistic prostitution. Citing the case of one of America's best newspapermen who had to open a laundromat to keep the kids fed, I wondered if socialist-world delegates could help by opening up paying markets in their countries for the journalistic work of such people. Soviet novelist Konstantin Simonov, IOJ vice-president and an editor of Moscow's **New World,** promptly started the ball rolling by commissioning for his publication an article by the man I mentioned on "How and Why I Started a Laundry."

NEW ATMOSPHERE: On my first trip Behind the Iron Curtain since those most responsible for East-West barriers invented the phrase, I have a strong impression of a door having been newly opened in the mental atmosphere. In dozens of conversations mostly with journalists, artists and students (I spent one morning discussing America and the implications of Geneva with about 100 top English students of Sofia University) I have encountered few closed or rigid minds. Criticism and new ideas are sought, offered and welcomed; a sense of humor and of proportion about East-West issues and the problems of socialism prevails; and considerable impatience is expressed toward bureaucratic leaders who are too slow to apply the Geneva spirit to their thinking and daily work.

As for the Bulgars, who for centuries were prisoners in their own land under the Turks and then under native fascists, their modernizing achievements of a decade have been in the superhuman category; but now there surges up in them a desire to see and be more a part of the rest of the world. Everyone wants to travel and to welcome travelers from other lands. Above all, this vibrant people is finding itself in liberated cultural expression which it wants to share and to enrich by contact with other cultures.

LOCAL TALENT: Let us now return to Mr. Patel at the Bulgaria bar last night. I come in and join him with my new Bulgarian journalist friend Vladimir, a man of great charm and breadth of mind who works on the daily **Fatherland Front.** Casually Vladimir announces that, whereas the program arranged for the visiting journalists calls for us to see **Romeo and Juliet,** our hosts thought we would rather have a special performance of local talent in music and dance.

In the space of 24 hours such a show by amateurs and professionals has been whipped together for us and an invited audience. Of course it is all very hurried, says Vladimir, but if we will make allowances it may be not without interest. After the second slivovitz Mr. Patel, who is feeling much better all around, lets himself be persuaded to come with us.

THE YOUNG PIONEERS: Well, the hall bulges with standees, and before the first part of the program is over I observe that Mr. Patel, with an ecstatic look on his face, is beating time in the air with one hand.

And as a father who, presumably like Mr. Patel, has attended numerous school concerts where his offspring contributed to a wake of violins and clarinets, I cannot be surprised at Mr. Patel's rapture. For we are listening to an orchestra of no less than 75 red-scarved Bulgarian Young Pioneers, ages 12 to 16, playing Handel and Berlioz somewhat better than many professional orchestras I have heard in the West. (Vladimir tells me this is only a "skeleton" of the Pioneers' orchestra which is actually 130 strong; the others haven't come because the hall is physically unable to accommodate them.)

POST OFFICE CHOIR: After a chat in the interval with a North Korean editor about my Korean friends the Kwaks in New York—achieved through a chain of three interpreters, English-Bulgarian, Bulgarian-Chinese, Chinese-Korean—the curtain rises on a Post Office choir of only 60, the men in tuxedos, the women in long white gowns. They sing far better than the average choir at home, but still not well enough for the critical Bulgars who reserve their warm applause for a students' choir of about 100 in embroidered shirts. The students are terrific.

Some time later several doors suddenly open and dozens of uniformed "millitzionairs" pour into the hall. The cops! They do not arrest anyone but swarm into the orchestra pit and play with complete professional skill for a magnificent, peasant-festival-costumed troupe of **hora** (folk) dancers.

Neither Mr. Patel nor I can count how many there are of these young men and women snaking, whirling and leaping around the stage; any more than we can find the right adjectives for the beauty, vigor and joyousness of their performance. But it seems, by the time the show ends, that practically all of Sofia's 800,000 population has come here to entertain us in this whipped-up show.

A NON-EXISTENT LAND: If this is how it comes out when the Bulgars whip it up in 24 hours, what gives when they have more time? Anyhow, they have dotted the i's and crossed the t's in Mr. Patel's turning-point. He says:

> "I think Bulgaria is theirs and not somebody else's, no foreigners are running anything, the work is hard but everyone belongs and no one hungers. This is too simple for West Europeans to understand. At the same time these Communists are really terrible."

Walking down the street abreast of us, three Young Pioneers with violin-cases smile with rather flattering interest at the two easily-detectable foreign guests of honor for whom they have been playing. One tries asking in German how we liked it; and by now in utter linguistic confusion, I find myself saying: "Félicitations! Ausgezeichnet! Horoshaw!"

But they are more interested in Mr. Patel. Wherever he goes "behind the curtain," Mr. Patel notices that an Indian gets more special attention and politeness than a Nordic type.

The strangest part of it, I thought as I rode the elevator to my room-and-bath, is that all this is happening in a land that doesn't exist. Bulgaria shares the honor with China of being a country the U.S. does not recognize.

Quick, Vladimir, the slivovitz!

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LAND OF POVERTY AND REPRESSION — II

Boiling point is near in Greece

By Stephen M. George
Special to the GUARDIAN

ATHENS, GREECE

WHEN YOU ARRIVE in Athens, the impression is of a city bustling with progress. There is construction under way on virtually every city block. New apartment houses are going up seemingly everywhere.

But on second look, the apartment houses are only for those who can afford the luxury of them; and housing developments for low-income people are practically unknown.

Those with money can live well in Greece. There are all the latest U.S. gadgets; outsize U.S. cars crowd the narrow Athens streets; excellent foods are available. Just outside Athens is the American community where those working on various U.S.-sponsored projects live in splendor for next to nothing with the buying power of dollars.

THE CONTRASTS: But for most of the Greek people, life is a continuous tug-of-war with poverty. Workers get as little as a dollar a day. Even professionals do very poorly in comparison with their counterparts in other countries.

The living conditions jar with the natural beauty of Greece. The countryside is magnificent, the Mediterranean a thing of splendor, the hundreds of islands breath-catching; the dry air is invigorating and the sky is so clear in the summer that a cloudy day is an oddity.

But the children are thin and undernourished. Rare is a child among the working people or in the villages who looks well fed. Some families have meat only a few times a year. Thousands live without heat, electricity, running water. There are no big slum apartment buildings, as in New York or Chicago, but all around Athens are small concrete houses in which people are crowded.

ILLITERACY: Village poverty drives people to the cities. Young girls of 12 and 14 come to Athens to work as maids for $10 to $15 a month plus room and board. This is an advancement for them. Some are treated decently, others badly. Recently a couple burned their young servant with a hot iron because she refused to admit to stealing. There was a great outcry, but union officials pointed out that the answer is in better working conditions for domestic workers.

Many are illiterate and bound by religious superstitions. On the island of Tinos is a church with a jeweled-ikon of the Virgin Mary. Great numbers still believe that by making a pilgrimage and kissing the ikon they can be blessed by good fortune. Every year, on the Feast of the Virgin Mary, thousands upon thousands pour into Tinos. The old, the sick, the blind and the crippled spend their precious money to crowd the boats. Meanwhile, business booms temporarily on the island.

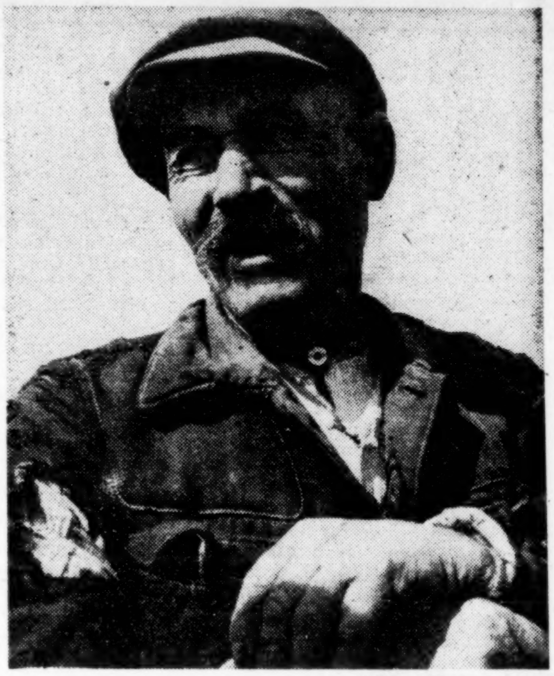
NO PROGRAM: What does the government do about such conditions? Some advances are made, but very few. A portion of the dollars from Washington trickles down to the poor man, but most of it lines the pockets of Greek businessmen and American investors. The government is now inviting an expansion of the tourist trade, and while this helps the general economy a little, it does nothing for the hard-pressed Greek families. Queen Frederika has sponsored a number of projects to aid needy children, but this does more to publicize the royal family than to cope with the problem.

The truth is that there is no program to lift Greece from its poverty, and therein lies one big reason why the present opposition to the government is growing stronger and more vocal every day, and why there is a certainty among the Greek people that there will be a change for the better in the next national election.

THE PROSPECTS: Demands for more work, more money, more food and better conditions are being met with more repression by the government. More people are thrown into prison camps, more frame-up trials are staged on charges of espionage, more money is spent on the military.

However, as was pointed out in last week's article, there is a great movement against these policies. Political groups are achieving unity on basic questions of political freedom. The entire nation is united on self-determination for Cyprus, and is thereby diametrically opposed to U.S. and British policy on this score.

Conditions in Greece are heading toward a boiling point. The prospects are improving daily in this ancient country—which has suffered so much agony —for the eventual ending by the Greek people of the tyranny that took hold when Greek democrats were suppressed with U.S. intervention under the pretense of fighting "communism" in the Greek civil war.



United Nations photo

A GREEK VILLAGER
For the army plenty, for him nothing

Will you act to save the lives of Greek patriots?

THREE YEARS AGO, the Greek government bowed before the forces of world opinion and evacuated all political prisoners from the island in the Aegean Sea known as Youra—an island so desolate that in 1943 the Nazis rejected it as unfit to house captured Italian soldiers.

Youra has just been reopened by the Greek government, and over 200 political prisoners have been transferred to this arid rock which, devoid of vegetation, is inhabited only by snakes, rats and scorpions.

The story of Youra will remain forever as a stigma on civilization. A document written by the prisoners who were incarcerated in its dungeons from 1947 to 1952 will stand as an almost incredible indictment of man's inhumanity to man; an account of bestiality, degeneracy and suffering.

This is the hell to which the Greek government is condemning political prisoners again. These are the men and women from all walks of life whose only crime is that they are political opponents of Greek government policies and ardent advocates of peace. Youra has been reopened in spite of the vigorous protests of the Greek people, and over the protests of 18 members of Parliament.

The political prisoners are appealing for help. From his cell, Tony Ambatielos, former MP and gen. secy. of the Federation of Greek Maritime Unions, has written exposing the move as one of "extermination" and calling on friends abroad to "move heaven and earth" to save the lives of the political prisoners.

The voice of the American people can force the Greek government to return the 200 doomed men and women to the mainland of Greece. It can close the doors of the dungeons of Youra. We urge your readers to protest to the Greek Ambassador, Washington, D.C.; to Prime Minister Karamanlis in Athens; to the General Secretary of the UN in New York.

They should demand that all prisoners in Youra be returned to the Greek mainland. Demand that Youra be banned as an island of exile or detention. Demand the release of all political prisoners and exiles, and the granting of general amnesty.

Council of Greek Americans
257 Seventh Av., N. Y. C. 1, N. Y.

DINNER IN LOS ANGELES

Salute to John Howard Lawson Nov. 12 marks his 40th year as a writer

By Gene Richards
Special to the Guardian

LOS ANGELES

THE PRISON GUARD was young, new to his job and sensitive to the arrival of the scholarly victim of the House Un-American Activities Committee. He was a surprising sort of prisoner, anyway—screenwriter, playwright, historian, journalist, educator, trade union leader and defender extraordinary of the First Amendment. . . . The guard had many talks with him. Shortly after the prisoner's discharge, in 1950, the guard quit his job and later engaged in a rewarding correspondence with him.

The guard's response to the impact of John Howard Lawson was perhaps more dramatic but no less significant than the appraisals of this intellectual man of action which are pouring in from all over the world for his 61st birthday and 40th anniversary as a professional writer.

THE WORLD OVER: The greetings—from Charles Chaplin, Prof. Robert Morss Lovett, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Shirley Graham, the Bulgarian Ministry of Culture, the Union of Chinese Writers, from doctors, lawyers, labor leaders, from people everywhere—are arriving in Los Angeles. They will be read as part of a "Salute to John Howard Lawson" when 500 leaders of that community gather Saturday, Nov. 12, at 7 p.m., under the auspices of the Southern California Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, at the Nikabob restaurant. Reservations are being accepted at the council's office, 509 N. Western Av., Los Angeles 4.

JOHN HOWARD LAWSON
Citizenship well understood

Another of the Hollywood Ten, Dalton Trumbo, will be dinner chairman, who, with an ASP subcommittee which includes the blacklisted screen writer Paul Jarrico, director-producer Edward Biberman and Academy Award-winning actress Gale Sondergaard, signed the invitation.

From 1923 to 1934 Lawson had nine plays produced on the New York stage, become a co-founder of the New Playwrights, been elected founding president of the Screen Writers Guild in Hollywood, yet found time to play a real life role in many other people's dramas of that period. In 1927, with Edna St. Vincent Millay and other intellectual leaders, Lawson was arrested by the Boston police for demonstrating against the Sacco-Vanzetti frameup. From Alabama, in 1934, he wrote scorching articles to the N.Y. **Post** exposing the White Legion, successor to the Ku Klux Klan, in the struggle to free the Scottsboro Boys. Alabama threw him into jail twice.

FINE SCRIPTS: It was Lawson, in a more militant Hollywood era, who went to Washington for the newly organized Screen Writers Guild in 1933. For years a topflight Hollywood writer, Lawson scripted the wartime **Action in the North Atlantic**, the first film to depict a union and its members in an honest light. In the war years, too, Lawson wrote **Sahara**, presenting a Negro with dignity and courage. In 1938, his memorable **Blockade**, with its direct appeal to the conscience of the world, reported the fascist attack on Spanish democracy.

One of the most widely used texts for many years has been Lawson's **Theory and Technique of Playwrighting**, published by Putnam in 1936.

Barred from the channels of his professional lifetime, Lawson nevertheless has never stopped working since his release from prison—lecturing, organizing, writing.

Continuance of such a career need not surprise official Washington. As Lawson declared in his unrepentant appeal for executive clemency in 1950:

> ". . . I am guilty only of asserting the rights and responsibilities of American citizenship as I understand them."

Kwak hearing Nov. 14

THE DEPORTATION HEARING in the case of the Korean couple, Choon Cha and Chungsoon Kwak, has been postponed from Oct. 31 to Nov. 14. The hearing, which is open to the public, will be held at 1 p.m. at the Immigration Dept.'s New York office, 64th St. and Columbus Av. The Kwaks have been fighting since 1949 to prevent the government from deporting them to South Korea, where they face imprisonment or death at the hands of Syngman Rhee.

The Guardian's advice on voting for 10 N.Y. amendments Nov. 8

FOR NEW YORKERS preparing to go to the polls Nov. 8, the significant issues were at stake not in any race for office but in 10 constitutional amendments and one proposition. Here are the GUARDIAN's recommendations (you can carry your paper into the polling booth):

No. 1 would in effect boost taxes on gasoline (2c) and diesel fuel (3c) to pay for a $750,000,000 highway improvement plan. The Citizens Union backs it; the American Automobile Assn. opposes it. GUARDIAN feels that motorists, like pedestrians, are overtaxed, that as in park or school programs the money should come from those most able to pay: the rich and the realty interests. **Vote NO.**

No. 2 would raise the limit on state subsidies for low rent housing from $25 million to $34 million. **Vote YES.**

No. 3 provides for absentee registration and voting for the sick, disabled and those unavoidably out of town. The GUARDIAN, supporting every move to extend and facilitate the franchise, says: **Vote YES.**

No. 4 would give the state comptroller power to assess real estate for tax purposes. A legislative commission has been doing the job. As an elected official the comptroller could be held to stricter account for the scandalous under-assessment of big real estate. **Vote YES.**

No. 5 would exclude sewage disposal projects from debt limits. New York City has a large, unfinished program in sewer improvements and water purification. The GUARDIAN thinks big real estate, if properly assessed, should yield enough revenue to pay for it. **Vote YES.**

No. 6 would permit municipal borrowing for sewage disposal. **Vote YES.**

No. 7 would make an exception to the state's conservation laws and allow the flooding of large tracts of the Adirondack and Catskill Forest Preserve. It would authorize construction of Panther Dam, in Herkimer County, ostensibly to control the Moose and Black Rivers, actually to turn over the water power in the area to private companies. Abundant water power would be available from the Niagara and St. Lawrence developments if it, too, is not hi-jacked by private companies. Because it favors conservation and a public water policy, the GUARDIAN recommends: **Vote NO.**

Council of Conservationists

No. 8 would forbid most county judges from holding or running for non-judicial office. The law already forbids such activities to judges of the Court of Appeals and the Supreme Court. **Vote YES.**

No. 9 and No. 10 would give the Governor wide powers in appointing judges to temporary terms of office. Because it cuts into the people's power to elect judges, the GUARDIAN urges: **Vote NO.**

Proposition No. 1 authorizes the state to lend $50 million to limited-profit corporations for middle-income housing under private enterprise auspices. Though inadequate and though it will not build for those who most need housing, the GUARDIAN is in favor of everything that give some people a place to live. **Vote YES.**

War & Peace

(Continued from Page 1)

and widely acknowledged. While official Bonn comment hailed the plan, Social Democratic leaders and unofficial W. German observers in Bonn saw it as "non-negotiable and calculated to invite a categorical Soviet refusal" (**NYT**, 10/29). They predicted the result would be to

> ". . . accelerate the divisions within the government coalition parties in Bonn . . . and that the time was not far off when the politically conscious elements in W. Germany . . . would turn their backs on western policy and start an earnest search for strictly German approaches to their national problems."

CHANGES DUE: This process may be hastened by the illness of Chancellor Adenauer, whose personal dominance alone has held together the agglomeration of parties in the governing coalition. Some Western officials at Geneva told the **NYT**'s Harold Callender (10/29) of their fears that a united Germany "might remain neutral and bargain with both sides"; and they pointed to the fact that

Interlandi in Des Moines Register

"I don't care if world tensions have relaxed. There are some subjects which are still controversial."

> ". . . West and East Germans were already in contact and that sooner or later W. Germany would have to negotiate with the Soviet-controlled section."

In France, where Premier Faure's government was, in the words of the N.Y. **Daily News** (10/28), "dead on its feet" after surviving three confidence votes in as many weeks largely because no one else wants the job just now—fear of a united Germany has been strengthened by the resurgence of German nationalism in the Saar. The day after the Saar vote, said Marquis Childs (10/28), "one could hear French politicians saying: 'We aren't getting much out of our present foreign policy so perhaps it's time for a change.' " There is still, he added, "an allure in the diplomacy of the past—France and Russia working together to offset the strength of Germany."

DIVERGENT VIEWS: A French inclination "to accept the Soviet viewpoint—that a divided Germany is a better basis for a European Security Pact"—was reported by the **Christian Science Monitor** (10/25), which also noted support for this approach among "unofficial but influential circles." Both Britain and France, said the **News** (10/24),

> ". . . feel that the western powers should work toward a full European security pact with Russia regardless of Moscow's attitude toward the reunification of Germany."

A "too rigid" U.S. stand could, in their view, cause trouble in the West, especially in the coming French elections. W. Germany is already a threat to British export markets; some British capitalists fear a united Germany would be more so. British Prime Minister Eden's proposal for a demilitarized zone in Germany is regarded by many as a small step in the direction of a neutral Germany. And the U.S.S.R. has expressed some interest in this plan.

In face of this somewhat less than united western front, a western diplomat at Geneva acknowledged that "the real objective was to negotiate the maintenance of the status quo," provided the West can "put the responsibility on Moscow" (**NYT**, 10/29). But the genuine strength of the U.S.S.R.'s German policy made even this objective questionable.

MOSCOW FIRM: Molotov, in again offering the U.S.S.R.'s proposal for an all-European Security Pact, bluntly made plain that it would not agree to the remilitarization of Germany in any shape or form and that there could be no "mechanical merger" of the two Germanies—in other words, that the socialist achievements of E. Germany must be preserved. This stand had been made clear to Adenauer in Moscow but it was the first time it has been so plainly stated at an international conference.

With its German policy visibly falling apart, the West was also confronted at Geneva with the problems created by the decline of its prestige and influence in the oil-rich Middle East. A deliberately-created furore over Egypt's purchase of arms from Czechoslovakia was largely designed to hide the West's real worries in that area: strengthened nationalism and increasing socialist-world ability to offer these poverty-stricken peoples economic, technical, and financial assistance.

Last April 16 an official Soviet declaration pointed out that the West's policy of forming military blocs in the Middle East was directed, first of all, against the sovereignty and independence of these countries and designed to bring them "under colonial subjugation." Citing the record of Soviet aid to Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey and other Arab countries in their struggle for independence, it offered to develop further co-operation for the sake of peace and national independence in that area.

THE CONTRAST: Virtually ignored in the Western press, this statement had a profound impact throughout the Middle East. It was followed by a Soviet initiative which has brought trade and friendship agreements with Libya and Yemen; negotiations for establishing diplomatic relations with Saudi Arabia; trade negotiations with Syria and Egypt. (Egypt is selling cotton to the U.S.S.R. for oil; to Hungary for locomotives and consumer goods; to Czechoslovakia for arms; to Poland for coal; to E. Germany for consumer goods and construction equipment; and to China for sterling.)

Concrete Soviet offers of technical, economic and financial assistance have been made. Cultural exchanges are already under way. London's **New Statesman** (10/15) said:

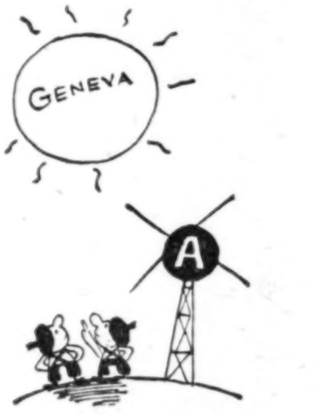
> "The troupe of Russian musicians, which is currently performing at the Cairo Opera House, has amazed and delighted Egyptian audiences by singing local songs in Arabic. Russian diplomats and technicians, who are swarming through Cairo, are treating their Arab counterparts as equals and not as wayward and unpredictable children—a notable contrast with British methods, as the Egyptian press has not failed to observe."

CONTROL THREATENED: These developments come at a time when the economic rivalries of the Western powers for Middle East markets and oil and developing economic crises in some of these countries are shaking the structure of western control. U.S. manufacturers are "slowly but steadily losing ground in the fierce competitive struggle" for Middle East markets, said the **Journal of Commerce** (10/26). Iran, for example, which bought 35% of its imports from the U.S. in 1950-51, now buys 18% from W. Germany and only 14% from the U.S.

Turkey's commercial ties to the West, said **J of C** (10/19), are being "tenuously maintained" largely by foreign aid and trade loans and "its credit standing among western businessmen has dropped to the vanishing point." One foreign trade banker was quoted as warning that Turkey's economic structure is "in danger of collapse." This crisis is paralleled by a crisis within the ruling Democratic Party which threatens the dictatorship of Premier Menderes.

Israel's warning of "preventive war" and demand for U.S. arms to match Egypt's purchases in Czechoslovakia highlight another U.S. dilemma. According to **NYT** (10/26) American diplomats in Israel are demanding economic pressure against Egypt, including dumping of cotton surpluses, while its diplomats in Arab countries want a blockade of Israel if it does not agree to peace on Arab terms.

At Geneva, U.S. and British diplomats were reported agreed on a plan to halt what they called "Soviet expansion" in the Middle East. Peace in this area, however, requires Soviet participation in settlements and guarantees—and the mounting demand for freedom from colonial control and for reform, will not, in any case, be halted.



Drawing by Dyad, London

"That's the spirit that can be a billion times more powerful than the atom bomb."

Who booted this one?

HERLESHAUSEN, Germany, Oct. 20 (AP)—Four policemen from Communist East Germany swam the icy river Werra three times today to seek asylum in the West.

West German authorities said the fugitives swam across and then realized they had left their boots in the East, so they swam back to get them and returned again.

—San Francisco **Chronicle**, Oct. 21.

DETROIT, DEC. 10-11

Foreign Born meeting

NINETY prominent Americans have joined to sponsor the 23rd annual national conference of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born in Detroit, Dec. 10 and 11. Among the sponsors are Emily Green Balch, Dr. Anton J. Carlson, Dr. Abraham Cronbach, Dr. Alice Hamilton, Rev. Charles A. Hill, Prof. Robert Morss Lovett, Rt. Rev. Walter Mitchell, Dr. Bela Schick, Prof. Malcolm Sharp and Bishop W. J. Walls.

The conference, which will follow public hearings called by Sen. Kilgore, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee and of the Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization, will help to publicize the vicious workings of the Walter-McCarran Law.

It will attempt to spotlight the opposition to the law and mobilize sentiment for its repeal or revision when Congress reconvenes in January, 1956. It will also help the defense of the more than 400 non-citizens and naturalized citizens victimized by the law.

"LESS THAN HONORABLE" STIGMA

8 GI's challenge Army discharg e practice which has blacklisted hundreds of vets

EIGHT PRIVATES last month brought the commanding general of the U. S. First Army into Federal District Court in New York in the first major legal test of the Army's right to blacklist men whose service records are above question.

The eight GI's are challenging procedures which have victimized hundreds of veterans by sending them out of the Army with "less than honorable" discharges. The witch-hunt works this way: On induction a GI is handed an oath form listing the organizations proscribed by the Attorney General (a list originally compiled exclusively for use in hiring civilian employes in sensitive government positions.) He is told he may invoke the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution and refuse to sign.

If he refuses, or if the Army's loyalty board receives "derogatory" information from a "faceless informer," the GI is kept at private's rank, given limited "non-sensitive" work. Before his hitch is up he is given a "hearing" in which his beliefs and the beliefs of his family are probed.

VICTIM'S FATE: At least one GI was "charged" with reading the **Nation** and the **New Republic.** The bill of particulars said that

> "both . . . [magazines] have long records as liberal publications; that they cannot be described as Communist, but they are so infiltrated with Communist Party policy that they serve the interests of the Communists and confuse liberals on many issues."

The same GI was suspect because his mother invited Negroes into her home for tea. Still others have been charged with "associating" with their suspect parents and only a few, like Midshipman Eugene Landy, have survived such associations in their service careers.

If the hearing goes against the GI—and it almost always does—he is escorted to the gates as if he were being drummed out of the forces—though the Army almost always keeps him for the full duration of his hitch. He is given a "less than honorable" discharge, deprived of mustering-out pay and all GI benefits, is forever barred from government service.

DEFENSE GROUPS: He drifts from job to job, working only until his employer asks to see his discharge papers. The young man finds himself effectively blacklisted while his service records indicate a spotless army career.

Throughout many of the cold war years, the victimized GI's were unknown casualties. Then servicemen's defense committees were formed, first in California, later in New York. The Ford Foundation underwrote a report of the Workers Defense League, prepared by attorney Roland Watts, which described the Army's star-chamber hearings and anonymous informers, then charged that the Army had attempted to muzzle every young man between 15 and 30. A man, said the report, must guard against associations which can be held against him when he is drafted. Even after he is discharged from active duty, but while he is in the reserve, he is subject to Army penalties. There have been instances of men honorably released from active duty but dishonorably discharged from the reserves on witch-hunters' charges.

Louisville Times

"Halt—whose mother goes there?"

THE COURT TEST: National publicity was given cases of guilt by parenthood. Herbert Wasserman of the Bronx, N. Y., told the **N. Y. Post** (10/9) he had refused to fill out a loyalty questionnaire as "a matter of principle, nothing more." Given an undesirable discharge, he traced his endless job hunt since then:

> "They always want to see your discharge papers and that finishes the thing."

The full court test came when the eight GI's opened suit before Federal Judge David Edelstein on Oct. 17 against Lt. Gen. Thomas W. Herren, commanding the First Army.

The eight privates, all stationed at Ft. Dix, are: Theodore Bernstein, Stanley Hauser, Bertram Lessuck, Bernard Radoff, Samuel Suckow, Rudolph Thomas, David and Jonathan Lubell. Each is eligible for discharge some time between next December and July. Following publicity given to their case the men have been taken out of the "administration hold" classification which allows minimum responsibility and minimum privileges. Last week they were labeled "operating personnel" and their "loyalty" hearings held up pending disposition of the court case. Character ratings of the men are "excellent," their military ratings at least "satisfactory."

"OMNIPOTENT CASE": The GI's' attorneys, Albert Colloms and Stanley Faulkner, argued that the hearings are illegal since they deprive the GI's of constitutional rights. Making a plea for honorable discharge when honorable service has been rendered the Army, the brief for the eight said:

> "The effect of allowing the defendant and the Armed Forces generally to investigate . . . one's prior civilian political activities to determine whether an honorable discharge will be withheld would place the Armed Forces in the position of an omnipotent censor of the actions and beliefs of every young man of draft age. . . . Such surveillance makes a mockery of the First Amendment. . . . A more effective method to ring a curtain of silence and conformity around the young citizens of our country would be hard to imagine."

The privates asked the court for a declaration of their rights to an honorable discharge and for an order restraining the First Army from proceeding with its hearings in the meantime. Judge Edelstein took the arguments under advisement.

The Servicemen's Defense Committee, supporting the suit, has appealed for funds. Address: P.O. Box 51, 217 W. 18th St., N. Y.

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the SPECTATOR

Thoreau and the Left today

(Continued from Page 2)

it, even the well-disposed are daily made the agents of injustice. A common and natural result of an undue respect for law is, that you may see a file of soldiers, colonel, captain, corporal, privates, powder-monkeys and all, marching in admirable order over hill and dale to the wars, against their wills, ay, against the common sense and consciences, which makes it very hard marching indeed and produces a palpitation of the heart. They have no doubt that it is a damnable business in which they are concerned; they are all peaceably inclined. Now what are they? Men at all? Or small moveable forts and magazines, at the service of some unscrupulous men in power?"

Considering the four million slaves, their plight sanctioned by the U. S. government, and the savage war against Mexico, Thoreau asked with a boldness that now seems quaint and antique:

"How does it become a man to behave toward this American government today? I answer, that he cannot without disgrace be associated with it. I cannot for an instant recognize that political organization as my government which is the slave's government also."

AS IN OUR DAY Thoreau was confronted by a monumental apathy on the part of good people:

"They hesitate and they regret, and sometimes they petition; but they do nothing in earnest and with effect. They will wait, well disposed, for others to remedy the evil, that they may no longer have it to regret. At most they give only a cheap vote and a feeble countenance and God-speed to the right as it goes by them."

When Thoreau wrote, the political conventions were being prepared to nominate men for the Presidential elections. He evaluated them precisely:

"I hear of a convention to be held at Baltimore, or elsewhere, for the selection of a candidate for the Presidency, made up chiefly of editors, and men who are politicians by profession, but I think, what is it to any independent, intelligent and respectable man what decision they may come to? Shall we not have the advantage of his wisdom and honesty nevertheless? Can we not count on some independent votes? Are there not many individuals who do not attend conventions? But no, I find that the respectable man, so-called, has immediately drifted from his position and despairs of his country when his country has more reason to despair of him. He forthwith adopts one of the candidates thus selected as the only available one, thus proving that he is himself available for any purposes of the demagogue."

IN 1956 WE ARE TO BE PRESENTED with Republican and Democratic candidates and no one expects them to have many more qualifications beyond their availability. Is the choice between such candidates really the decisive one? Will it determine the future of American liberties and the peace of the world? Is our only avenue of expression—or at least the avenue on which we must all concentrate—that pathetic choice? Thoreau had no use for the fiction that politics begins and ends with the ballot. He said:

"Cast your whole vote, not a strip of paper merely, but your whole influence."

Perhaps the turning point in our times will come when we discover how to cast our whole influence, when we will not measure victories and defeats by the tallies of available candidates, when we will not build—or dismantle—organizations according to the election returns. Perhaps we may one day build an organization that is unashamedly a minority—but a minority untrammeled by ground rules, that does not scorn to nail a reactionary with a misplaced comma on his own statute books, but on the other hand does not content itself with that. We must assert the right to vigorous dissent, to battle every injustice and fight for peace without the sanction of any tribunal. We would hate and oppose slavery even without the 14th Amendment. We propose to love freedom and to talk freely despite the Smith Act.

THE DECISIVE STEPS will be taken by the great body of the American people, it is true. We need not act for them, but we need not act against them by playing the game of bi-partisan politics which for so long has rooked them and beguiled them. Where we can talk through the ballot let us talk—and where we can't, let us find better means to talk to people.

—The Spectator

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Chicago

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PETE SEEGER sings at 7th Annual **FESTIVAL OF NATIONALITIES** Sat. eve., Nov. 12. Colorful folk songs, dances by Chicago National Groups. Abner Green, speaker. Milda Theatre, 3140 S. Halstead. Adm. $1. Door: $1.25. Ausp.: Midwest Comm. for Protection of Foreign Born. WE 9-3552.

CARL MARZANI says: "We Will Be Friends" at annual November Friendship celebration. Fri., Nov. 18, Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams, 8:15 p.m. Hear Elizabeth Woodard, just back from U. S. S. R. Also musical program. Admission: $1.

DAVID OISTRAKH, top Soviet violinist. Orchestra Hall, Mon. eve., Nov. 28. Tues., Nov. 29. Choice seats from Chicago Amer.-Sov. Friendship, 189 W. Madison. An 3-1878. Boxes $6, main floor $5, balcony $4 and $3, gallery $2.

Los Angeles

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Co-editor American Socialist
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SUNDAY FORUM, Nov. 6, 8:30 p.m. Eugene V. Debs—in commemoration of 100th anniversary of birth of great labor leader and militant socialist. Speakers: Alexander Trachtenberg and Dr. Philip Foner. Jefferson School, 575 6th Av. $1.

BIRTHDAY LUNCHEON honoring Marion Bachrach, Sat., Nov. 19, Great Northern Hotel. Sponsors: Shirley Graham Du Bois, Helen Alfred, Katharine Van Orden, Mary Van Kleeck. Reservations $3 at Room 810, 11 Park Place, N. Y. C. BA 7-5952.

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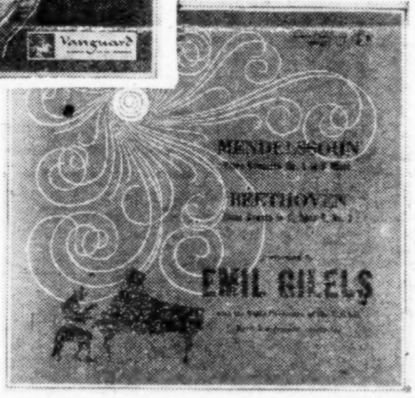

BRAHMS' Concerto for violin and orchestra in D major, opus 77 played by DAVID OISTRAKH with the State Orchestra of the U. S. S. R. Kyril Konrashin, conductor

Critics here and abroad have acclaimed Oistrakh and Gilels with such terms as "legendary masters," "prodigious vitruosos." You can hear them now in these fine recordings, made from new high-quality tapes in 12 in., 33⅓ RPM long playing records by the authorized distributors.

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Scandinavian style made in Japan, sturdily consructed, one-piece, solid handles, good weight, require no polishing, just a soaking in suds. 24-pc. service for 6 (dinner knife, dinner fork, soup spoon, tea spoon).

$12.95 ppd.

32-pc. service for 8 (8 each of above basic pieces).

$16.95 ppd.

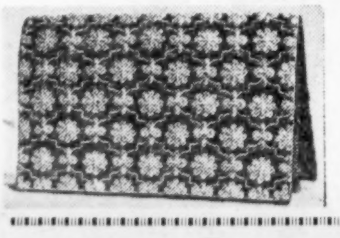
4-pc. set of serving pieces—gravy ladle, berry spoon, meat fork, pie server.

$5.95 ppd.

OPEN STOCK PRICES

Dinner knife .... 95c ea.
Dinner fork .... 75c ea.
Soup spoon .... 55c ea.
Tea spoon .... 40c ea.
Salad fork .... 55c ea.
Butter spreader .... 55c ea
Serving spoon .... 70c ea.

JUST ARRIVED FROM INDIA



Beautiful Sari hand made evening bags of black velveteen with lovely gold tinsel embroidery in stylized floral pattern. This generous sized 8" x 5" bag adds a nice note of glitter and glamor to evenings dress.

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